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342 823 [171] [177] [177 791] 342 [782] [789]

BUILDING CUSTOMS. Like their village neighbours about them, Kols have numerous superstitions relating to houses and certain customs in connection with their construction. In India, it has been said, "a house should face north or east and not south or west, as the south is the region of Yama, the God of Death, who lives in Ceylon, and the west is the quarter of the setting sun."[1] Kols are not quite so particular in this respect although due to Hindu influences there is a general tendency to follow this plan. The Kols observe a general rule which is that if the house is to be longer than it is wide, the greatest length should be parallel to the north-south line.

When a new house is about to be built in a village, its actual position is generally determined in relation to the other houses about it. If the position of the house is not limited by other houses, and if there is doubt as to the location, a Hindu *pandit* is sometimes called to help decide the exact place. The *pandit* consults astrological factors as from these he is said to be able to determine whether the place is suitable or not, or if an evil spirit lives on that spot or nearby. If the report should be unfavourable, another spot is selected and the process repeated. When satisfactory, the *pandit* will also fix the day on which work should begin on the construction of the building. For this service he is paid two annas to a rupee according to the ability of the builder to pay.

If the house is not to be permanent little or no ceremony is observed in connection with its building, as it is considered a temporary structure which can be broken up in a few minutes.

If, however, the house is one with mud walls and is of a more permanent nature, there are certain customs which are quite generally observed. The foundation trench is first dug although this may be hardly more than a levelling of the ground on which the walls will stand. A "foundation stone" is usually placed somewhere in the trench, and beneath it are put two pice, some rice coloured yellow with turmeric and an areca nut (*Areca catechu*). The walls are constructed of mud with a certain amount of cow dung and straw mixed in to insure its stability.

One of the pictures[2] shows a Kol house in the process of construction. This particular house was being built on the site of another house. In this case, which was observed for some time, the following customs were noted, and found also to apply to other cases of building.

Just within the threshold of the single entrance to the house there

1 Russell and Hiralal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 88.
2 See Plate VIII.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

342 raised. An old shoe is also generally found along with the iron and
789 stones under the floor. Occasionally bits of dried *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum*
sanctum) are also scattered about the floor or again a bunch of *tulasi*
[824] may be tied at the base of the central pole. This pole stuck in the centre of the house being built is not a part of the permanent construction, but is a device to render the building work satisfactory and protect the home from demons taking possession of it while in the process of construction. On the pole can be seen hanging a basket and in this basket were found pieces of iron and tin, and bits of the outer *lepoed*[1] covering of another house. It may be taken from the walls of a house in which a happily married and prosperous family lived.
[337] In an earthen pot placed on the floor there was a yellowish liquid. The builder told us that this was water, but it had the appearance of cow's
[778] urine, although this could not be confirmed. Occasionally there is a
782 sign of a little shrine about the construction somewhere, which shows signs of the presentation of the *hom* offering.

342 The inner floor of the house will be filled in and packed down after the walls are up. In dwellings of good construction the floor of the interior of the house should be higher than the veranda floor, and the veranda floor should, in turn, be higher than that of the courtyard. Kol houses have no windows, and the door-ways are low. On enter-
[782] ing one must bow, or even get down on hands and knees. Bowing as
[788] one enters is said to be a method of showing respect to the household deities. Windows might let in evil forces, hence none is included.

342 Women may aid in building the house, but their work is limited
462 to assisting in building the walls and floor of the house by bringing the earth or water, mixing them and helping to place the mud in the proper place. They take no part, however, in the construction of the
[562] roof. This is not a woman's job, and for a woman to get upon a roof
784] is taboo—a thing that requires punishment or a fine.

342 Kols are able to construct the whole house. If the roof is to
[824] be of grass, the grass is brought from the forests, and *kusa* (*Poa cynosuroides*) and *duba* (*Agrestis linearis*) are generally used. If
[323] tiles are utilized, cheap country tiles are obtained from the village potter. The Kol puts the tiles on the roof himself. The only
[335] thing which he cannot make is the door and frame, but these may be bought quite cheaply in the markets or may be made for him by the village carpenter. They are set in the opening left for the door, and the mud is packed in about them. There is usually but one door to a house. The more primitive types of houses so common among

1 See Glossary, Appendix VI, for meanings of Vernacular terms.

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include, fish, goat, chicken, hare, mutton, buck, and even pork. Apparently carrion is never eaten. The flesh of the deer may be eaten but not that of the tiger. The villager is an adept at preparing vegetables for his curries, and throughout the year depends largely upon the following according to the seasons: *sags* of various kinds; egg plants; pumpkins and gourds; okra; potatoes, both ordinary and sweet; onions; roots of various plants; and corn on the cob roasted until it is brown.

The community feast, or feasts, given to a relatively large group on special occasions, are things which help to break the monotony of diet. Community feasts are usually paid for out of the proceeds of fines levied by the *panch*. An individual also may give a feast as a thank-offering, or at child-birth, at the time of a wedding, or at death. One of the favourite foods is said to be a preparation described below known as *bara*, and is served at every feast. If some social event should make a feast obligatory, and if the person concerned should fail to provide the expected meal, the *panch* brings pressure upon him to do so. If he still fails, the person is boycotted for a period. The usual menu at such a feast includes rice and *chapatis*, pulse, vegetable curry, *chatni*, *bara* and if they can be afforded, meats of various kinds. Kols drink milk when it is available and apparently do not feel that all milk should be kept for the calf, as some Munda tribes believe. Milk is also used in the preparation of certain special foods, such as *khir*, which is used for the child's first feeding. See below.

Foods are usually divided into two classes: *pakka* and *kachha*. The former kind is cooked in *ghi* or *ghi* is used in its preparation, and the latter is simply cooked with water. *Ghi*, like other products from the sacred cow, protects from impurity. While caste Hindus have numerous restrictions in connection with this classification, the Kols do not seem to be particular in this regard. They will take food cooked by "clean" Hindu castes, but never from those castes which they consider below them, such as Chamars, Mahars, Dhobis, Basors, and Doms. Nowhere Kols seemed to be starved nor emaciated. Apparently, they have enough to keep them in fairly good health, though not in abundance. We did not find stout people among them.

The main food-stuffs are listed below. In an average Kol house all of these are probably not found at any one time, but they are those used when available:

Grains: Wheat, rice, millet (in northern areas).

Pulses: Black pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*). Red and yellow types (*Cajanus indicus* and *Dolichos lablab*).

Oils: Mustard oil usually from *Guizotia abyssinica*. Sweet oil or.

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on the *sil* salt and some spices are usually added. The dough is then moulded by hand into cakes of various sizes which are fried in sweet (*til*) oil or in clarified butter. *Bara* is usually eaten in this form though occasionally, if curd is available, it is soaked in that until soft. 252

Dahi is a form of sour milk, though a particular strain of bacteria seems to be required. A bit of old *dahi* is put into the new milk which has been sweetened and to which possibly a little sliced green chili has been added. This is set aside until the *dahi* is formed.

Khir. This is made by boiling rice in milk over a slow fire. Sugar is added to sweeten. When the mixture becomes creamy, chopped cocoanut, pistachio, and *ilachi* seeds are added to taste.

Batasa. Sugar is boiled with water until there is a very thick syrup. This is poured into a cocoanut shell which has a small hole in the bottom through which the syrup may drip. This is allowed to drip on cloth or paper forming small balls of various sizes. The product turns out to be a small whitish ball, spongy and very sweet.

FOOD TABOOS. There are certain things which Kols never eat. The use of beef and carrion is universally tabooed. The latter is eaten only by outcastes, and beef is not taken in deference to their Hindu neighbours. It was noted that pork is among the foods used. In Hinduized centres it is no longer eaten as a regular dish, but it is still partaken of at festival times when a young pig may be offered to the goddess and ceremonially eaten. Nothing that creeps on the ground should be eaten. 262 [564] [178 782]

Among other animals which they never kill nor eat are found the names of the parrot, sparrow, crow, kite and *galgal* (*Acridotheres tristis*).

INTOXICANTS. There is evidence to show that the Kols are not so addicted to the use of intoxicants as they were in previous years. At times of religious ceremonies liquor is still used quite freely and no penalty is attached. In one centre we were informed that the *panchayat* fines any man who is caught drinking liquor, and that they had totally abolished its use in that village. In other places they were not so successful, and yet there was a standard penalty of Rs. 10 or a community feast, when, in the judgment of the *panch* the circumstances warranted it. 273 [184 623 681]

Contact with city life seems to increase the use of liquor; and Kol dwellers in Jubbulpore have distinctly less feeling against it and more often indulge in its use than do the people living in the village. [369]

As far as we could learn there was no record of the Kols resorting to the illicit distillation of intoxicants. When they need liquor for their [443]

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[P.55]

Chapter IV

BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY

For the Kols there are certain very obvious turning points of life, and at such times Kols believe that evil is present, ready to render the outcome of events unfavourable. To Kols the anxiety is not merely one born of a physical crisis but goes deeper into their consciousness, for at such times favourable supernatural aid must be secured or the evil spirits will triumph over them. Hence at these turning points there are certain rites and ceremonies which must be observed and recourse should not be had to some newer unknown and untried method. Kols are unable to give a rational account of why they perform these rites; as far as they are concerned it is just the custom. Though in many cases the customs may have been adopted from Hinduism, it was so long ago that Kols are now altogether unconscious of it. It should be remembered, therefore, that many of the things described in this connection will also be found true of the village folk all over this part of Central India. An attempt has been made by long and patient enquiry to find out what the Kols themselves do on these important occasions, but we have not sought to compare them with other groups in this regard.

Birth Customs. *Pregnancy.* The pregnant mother is not considered unclean and there are no particular taboos placed upon her. She is allowed to go about her regular work and do all cooking and household duties without restriction. She may eat what she likes and there are no foods which she must avoid other than those a Kol never uses. She should be careful, however, not to go near places where *bhuts* and other evil spirits are known to lurk, they might attack her and as a result cause a miscarriage. When the woman comes to know that she is pregnant the matter is taken to the family goddess—*devi*—who is usually resident in one corner of the house and she is promised that she will receive an offering if she protects the mother and the unborn babe for the full time of pregnancy. After delivery, or often shortly before if all has gone well, the family will present to the *devi* the particular things that they had promised her. This may be an animal such as a goat, pig or chicken, or just a cocoanut. Again, the simple *hom* offering or fire sacrifice is common. This consists of an oblation of clarified butter (*ghi*) placed in the fire burning before the *devi*, the anointing of the wall with vermilion (*sendur*) and the

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843 782 presentation of a piece of a broken cocoanut. Occasionally, particularly when the woman is in severe pain before the time her birth-pangs are expected and normal, there may be a special sacrifice of one of the animals noted above. Hindus also observe similar ceremonies.

843 789 There are certain charms which are believed to be useful to the expectant mother to ward off evil. A small metal box for the protecting *devi* is worn on a cotton thread round the neck, while a copper necklace is regarded as an especially effective protection. Sometimes the leaves [824] of the *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) are useful. Such leaves may be laid on the mother's abdomen with a prayer that she may be safeguarded through this dangerous period. These various means help in the prevention of miscarriage which, if it does occur, is believed to be due to the influence of some evil force. But even should a demon trip the woman up and cause her to fall heavily to the ground, no harm will result if these precautions have been attended to. When there is a case of miscarriage the foetus is taken away to the burial ground and put into a hole without any ceremony.

845 789 *Labour.* Among the more primitive Kols difficult labour is ascribed to evil spirits; the more advanced ones speak of it as a punishment due from Bhagawan for some bad *karma*. In case the delivery proves difficult there are certain things that should be done. Some Kols definitely averred that nothing can alter the difficulties of labour, but questions have been answered in such a way by others that it appears to be established that there are magical practices in this connection. If things are not going well the first thing to be done is to make a suitable offering to a *devi* or *deva*, or both. Then one should go carefully about the house and open the mouth of each covered earthen pot; the knots on every bundle should be carefully untied and strings or pieces of ropes untwisted. As far as possible every closed thing in the house should be opened up. This, it is believed, will make the delivery easier. Often five handfuls of rice are taken out of the opened rice jar and Bhagawan is challenged to divide the grains into two equal parts without making an error. They imply that if he can do such a thing and do it right he will surely be able to see the child safely through delivery.

844 787 Another magical use of grain is also made at this critical hour. Prayers are first offered for a safe delivery, then a handful of grain is taken out of the pot by a male member of the family. This is carefully counted. If it happens that the number of grains is even, then all will be well, for it is a good omen, and the delivery will be easy. If the number is an odd one, it is a warning of the likelihood of pain and danger.

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part of one, and if another person should get it he would have power over the child. Its burial is also, strangely, a proof of birth. If a Kol is asked where he was born he replies: "My *nara* is buried in...." and names the village. In a real sense a part of him is buried there and he is a part of that village. The spot is plastered over with a mixture of cow dung, earth and water, and the fire lit over it. The *hom* sacrifice may also be offered.

Any extraordinary happening at birth or anything unusual is generally considered a bad sign. For example, a child born with teeth already in its mouth is much feared, for it signifies bad luck and a member of the family, probably one of the parents, will be sure to die within a short time. They say the child has come to destroy a member of the family. An extra finger, though, is considered as a good omen. Twins seem to have no special significance attached to them and their occurrence appears to be infrequent among the Kols.

The Sixth Day Ceremony: *Chhatthi*. After six days it is believed that the greatest period of danger is over and the woman can begin to make preparations to take up her normal life. This period corresponds with the time of greatest physical danger, for by the sixth day after birth, the dreaded septicaemia, if it is to come, will make its appearance. When day has come and all is well the *dhobi* and the *nai* are usually sent for. The former takes all the soiled clothes. The wife, after a preliminary bath and anointing by the *dai*, puts on fresh clothes. The barber trims the nails of her hands and feet and puts vermilion on both her feet and the feet of her child so that no evil spirit may harm them as they make their way to the place of the ceremonial bath. Her head has been oiled with *til* oil and occasionally the child has been pricked on the stomach with a hot iron, so that "the waters may be digested". All the earthen vessels in the house should be thrown out and new ones purchased from the Kumhar, and the house should be cleaned and plastered. The *nai* also gives the male members of the family a good shave, both of the face and the head.

The mother is now ready for the ceremonial bath at the village bathing place. The women of the household go there in a group accompanied by a Basor beating a drum. This is done just at sundown. The mother carries a brass vessel (*lota*) on the top of which burns an earthenware lamp (*diya*). At the place of bathing offerings are made: cocoanut, *haldi*, *supari*. Incense may be sprinkled in the fire in the lamp. Mustard seed (*rai*) is often scattered about in order to frighten off any evil spirits which may be at the place ready to injure the mother and the child. There is then a formal sort of bath, the water being

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553 derived from the month of *Phagun* (February-March), or the town or village of his birth may be selected. More often though, the name of some Hindu deity or hero is given: combinations of Ram being common as Ram Prasad, Ram Avatar and the like. In Appendix II is given a list of Kol names.

551 It is common though, to find that the name thus officially given to the child is seldom used in actual life and a pet name or *alias* is used. This name is often a coarse one, or one considered inauspicious. The real name is kept secret and often forgotten and the child becomes known by his alias. A name is really part of one's personality and can be misused if obtained possession of by an unfriendly person or spirit. So the child may be called *Makkhi* (fly), *Ghatita* and *Ghasu* (pulled up, useless), *Pagal* (crazy), *Langra* (lame), *Ghuruwa* (filth) or *Kana* (one-eyed). When directly asked why such names as these are given two answers were commonly given: the first is that high caste people did not like to hear low caste people called by high-sounding names. This is probably a rationalization, though there may be truth in it. The second answer was the frank avowal that some malicious [754] person or *bhut* might come to know of the real name and through it work some mischief on the person concerned.

852 *Hair Cutting*: *Mundan*. Occasionally this also becomes an
302 opportunity for a ceremony of a special kind, but like name-giving a great deal is not made of it; particularly among the more primitive Kols. [177] If the family is somewhat Hinduized they may have the hair cut on the banks of the sacred Nerbudda River; or the ceremony may be performed in the house by calling the Hindu *nai*, who shaves the head, leaving but a small top-knot called the *choti*. Adult Kols, however, [782] do not always keep the *choti*. If they can afford it a young kid or pig is sacrificed at this time and the blood sprinkled over a fire placed before some *devi* such as Shardamai. The animal is then cooked and is feasted upon by all. The *nai* may be paid one rupee for his services. The time of hair cutting is not fixed, but it is generally done between the time of the close of the mother's impurity and the first anniversary of the child's birth. Yet there are exceptions to this, even if it be the regular procedure, for we have often seen Kol boys with uncut and unkempt hair. When the older folks have been asked why this is allowed they have given various answers. One family said that they would not cut their child's hair until they returned to their native land of Rewa when it would be "properly" cut. Another said that until there was a marriage in the family they would not cut the child's hair. It is also held that it is left uncut so that the demons will believe

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of charms used are discussed in the chapter on Magic and Witchcraft.

PUBERTY. From the above mentioned ceremonies until the Kol child reaches puberty, there is little of importance to note. When the first milk tooth falls out the child is told to take it outside near the house, to shut his eyes and to throw it on the roof, never looking to see where it has gone. This will aid in the coming in of the new tooth.

The girl is tattooed when between the ages of ten and twelve and just before her marriage may be given further tattooing. In the Kaimur hills it was said that a woman must be tattooed, for without it Bhagawan would not know how to grasp her and take her spirit on its way to the heavens. No ceremonies occur at the time of tattooing, and apart from saying that it is the custom Kols could give us almost no information on the matter. The designs are usually similar to those of their Hindu neighbours and the actual tattooing is done by the same man who does it for other castes. See the description on pages 28-31.

No particular rites are observed in connection with the girl's first menstruation. At such a time she is asked to stay in the house and if there is a second room into which she can go she retires there. She is not put out into a menstruation hut as is common among some Munda tribes. During the four to six days that the menses last she is considered unclean and should not cook, bring water for the family, nor touch men's clothes. When the menses have ceased she has to go to the village shrine and offer a cocoanut.

Nowhere among the Kols were we able to find any definite trace of puberty rites which are common elsewhere. We were told that a boy of the Kol tribe could only be considered a Kol when he reached the age of twelve to thirteen. In the full sense he becomes of age when he is sixteen. A girl is considered to be of age when she goes to live for good in the house of her husband. No traces were discovered of any ordeal that either sex had to undergo; no scars are made on the body nor were any hair tying ceremonies observed among the groups studied.

Bachelors' Quarters. No trace was found of bachelors' quarters nor of segregated dormitories for boys and girls, which are well-known among the Mundas and allied tribes of Chota Nagpur. The Gonds of Bastar and elsewhere also have them. They have been considered as a place for sex instruction but the system has been widely criticised by the more advanced Mundas and is being abandoned in many places. Other writers have attributed no social or religious importance to these quarters. One writes: "The thing is that the poor people in a village cannot afford to build big houses for themselves containing

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585 couple.' The bridegroom soon arrives dressed in his wedding garments, being brought thence in the *palki*. In the *palki* there is some *sendur* and a pair of shoes which are for the bride, and which his father removes and gives to the girl's representative for use later on. The *sendur* is used during the ceremony to mark her forehead. The bridegroom is now helped out of his *palki* and is asked by the priest to [792] worship certain deities and as he does so he gives each a small offering of money.

The bride now makes her appearance for the first time; up till now she has been secluded in the house and none of the male members of either party has seen her. So now the bridegroom sees her for the first time, but only her form, as her face is covered with a part of her *sari*. She sits beside her future husband on the *chauk* and the priest repeats some Sanskrit formulas, but what they were we were unable to ascertain.

The time is now ready for the offerings to be presented to the persons about to be married. (At one place this was said to come later). This is called *chari* and comes from the groom's side. As they [431] come forward with their gifts they first touch the feet of those about to be married and then cast their gifts into the *kalsa* in the centre of the *chauk*. The usual gifts are money, clothes and brass vessels, and as far as possible these are thrown into the *kalsa*. But if one wishes to give a chicken, a goat, or even a cow he says, "I give a chicken" and makes a motion as if he were throwing it into the waiting vessel. This gift will be given later on. In reality this is a worshipping of the couple. If the girl has a brother he now appears with a small *lota* of water and a *thali* (tray). The girl is asked to stretch out her hands before her, the tray is placed beneath them and the water poured over her hands and into it.

The *lawa* is now served. It will be recalled that this was prepared at both houses after the *mangarmati* ceremony and the two portions are now brought and mixed together. Some *batasas* (small sugar-like wafers) are also added, the whole being mixed by the girl's brother. When he is satisfied that this has been well done he takes out seven handfuls, one at a time, which he places one by one into the washed hands of his sister which are still stretched before her. She receives each handful and places it on another *thali* set before her. This is called the *lawa parsana* (or *parosna*), and the bridegroom's party pays the boy four annas for it. The mixture, now called *bran*, is placed near the *magrohan* in the centre of the wedding booth. Some incense is put into the fire burning there and some of the *bran* is used to make a magic [789] circle about it.

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The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to the *markwa*, and the latter is seated on the low wooden stool while the former sits either on a small mat of *palasa* leaves or on a low square made of mud and cow dung on his left. The *pandit* reads some sacred words, (supposedly from the Vedas) and as he does so the couple is instructed to throw *ghi* and rice coloured with *haldi* into the sacred fire. Each time the fire blazes up the priest utters the words *swaha, swaha*, meaning 'accepted', 'accepted'. This is really a *hom* offering. The *lagan* is sometimes read again at this stage.

The couple are asked to stand together, the girl being on the left of the boy. Some of the *sendur* is passed to him which he, with a silver coin, applies to the girl's forehead. As they stand there the *pandit* makes them promise to forgive each other at least seven times during their married life. After the promise the ends of their clothes are tied together, usually by the girl's sister. Into the knot that joins the two should be put a *takka* (a two-pice coin), some *haldi* and bits of a *supari* nut. Then begins the *bhanwar* or circumambulation of the bride and bridegroom about the sacred pole. If the couple are too young to live together and the marriage is not to be immediately consummated by her going to his house, there will be but five rounds of the *magrohan*. For four of the five rounds the boy walks ahead, and the wife, the ends of the clothes still tied, follows, but on the fifth round the girl precedes the boy. The fire and pole are always kept to their right and they move round them in a clockwise direction. After the completion of each round they stop and the girl puts her right foot on the *sil* (the flat stone used for grinding spices). While she stands thus her brother or a representative makes a round of the pole with the *barain* containing the remainder of the *lawa*.

After the five rounds are completed (there would have been seven had the couple been old enough to live together) the two, still tied together, retire into the house, the girl leading the way. The women in a jesting manner attempt to bar their entrance and the pair have to force their way through. Rude songs and jokes of a sexual nature are now in order. Members of both parties have been given some of the seven handfuls of *lawa* kept in the booth and this is thrown upon the couple. Inside the house a lamp (*dip*) has been left under a basket, thus giving but little light to the room. The girl's mother asks the boy to take up the basket and blow out the light. He does not consent to do this until he receives a gift from his mother-in-law. Sometimes the challenge is for him to light a second lamp from the first. When he gets the desired gift he takes off the basket, but does not blow out the light. When this is done the knot is untied and his *maur*

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Chapter VII

DEATH AND ITS ATTENDANT CEREMONIES

761 Death is an event which every Kol knows must be faced relatively early in life. One does not find a high proportion of aged Kols.[1] Among many primitive people death is usually ascribed to evil influences, but among the Kols this does not seem to be the common belief. While they believe that some deaths may be ascribed to evil influences they do not believe that all are caused that way. On the whole they take quite a natural view of the phenomenon. What the gods will that they do. Death also may be due only to natural causes or carelessness and no hidden malevolent cause is assumed. Death is usually deserved, for as one sows he also reaps. Hence an early death may be justly merited and caused by corrupt living. The Kols do not seem to be as superstition ridden as many groups are, yet we found [771] indications that they hold the general local village point of view. On the whole there is a wholesome attitude toward the supernatural—the world is not altogether evil.

763 The Approach of Death. When it is clear that a person is about to die there are certain things which ought to be done. It was found that the custom of bringing a cow to the bedside of the dying man [825] is known and is occasionally practiced. The dying man is asked to take ●782 hold of her tail. This will help him to get to heaven, for the cow is now considered an offering to God, and it is held that by holding the tail the [271 dying man makes this offering. If available, he is also made to drink a 778] little Ganges water which is regarded as the very best of drinks to give him at that hour. Failing this, a sip of water in which gold has been washed [823] is efficacious. Gold is considered an incarnation of God and a symbol of purity. Again, some ordinary water into which some ground up leaves [824] of the *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) have been thrown is advantageous. Such drinks are said to purify the dying person and prepare the soul for its flight to other worlds. Hindu influences are apparent.

Usually the person who is dying is placed on the ground to expire. The body is placed on the ground so that there may be close contact with Mother Earth. In some places it is said that a man may just as well die

[162 171] [1] This holds for primitive tribes in general, although any statement of age is unreliable. The 1931 census figures show that among the Kols there were only 100 men and 99 women per mile over forty. Other tribes show the following: Gond 154 men and 155 women; Maria 106 and 97; Baiga 143 and 148. Hindus rank higher—171 and 173 for Brahmins and 106 and 103 for Kunbis. *Census of India*, 1931, xii: 1, p. 131.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

764
762 cannot get such faithful wives—they prefer to run away," and there
522 was a hearty laugh.

766 In some parts of India the bodies of young children are sometimes buried under the floor of the house in which they lived but this custom does not prevail among the Kols. Children are buried in the regular *masan*, and not in a special place by themselves. If both mother and child die at the time of childbirth they are buried together in one grave. If they die on different days so that they cannot be buried together they are given separate burials.

Those dying abnormal deaths, by suicide, accident, or childbirth, are not treated differently from those dying in other ways. Kols are unlike most Hindus in this respect.

764 Sometimes grass plays a part in the funeral ceremonies, and in
765 Rewa State we found that Kols used *urai* grass (*Vetiveria zizanioides*)
824 at such a time. It was stated that at the time of bathing after the return
184 from the funeral ground a bunch of *urai* grass should be held in the right hand and that it too should be bathed. At least the chief mourner should do this. During the following days and until the time of the funeral feast this same bunch of grass should be carefully washed every day. On the day of the funeral feast it is thrown into the tank or river.

764 An interesting explanation of the use of small plugs if gold put into
823 holes bored in the front teeth came from the Rewa State. It was said
301 that when one died and the body was cremated the teeth would not be
184 consumed by the fire and the gold would still be in them Or even if the gold had melted out it would be in the ashes, and would be gathered with them and taken to the river. The throwing of gold into a
[782 river, particularly the Ganges, is a gift to the gods and pleases them
775] and the spirit gets *aram*—rest—in the after life in *baikuntha*—the abode of *Vishnu*.

764 Tattoo marks are said to have a certain significance at the time
304 of death. This applies to women as the men are not tattooed. If a
789 woman has tattoo marks on her forearm, and also on her upper arm, the arms are so folded when she is placed in the grave that the two tattooed places touch each other. This is said to somehow afford protection, please the gods and help the spirit on its way.[1] See also pages 29 and 30.

764 The chief mourner should also keep a piece of iron about his person
423 during the days of mourning, and possibly ever after. Sometimes, just before burial, this piece which is to act as a charm, is touched to the

1 See Crooke, *Op. Cit.*, p. 296.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

(3) Earthly King—"whoever he may be."

And a fourth:

(1) Bhagawan.
(2) Bhanmati—(meaning Bhagavati).
(3) Kalka of the "Seven Sisters."
(4) All others who are personally worshipped.

It has been noted that almost without exception the Kols speak of Bhagawan as the highest of all deities. The Supreme Deity of the Munda Tribes of Chota Nagpur is quite uniformly said to be Sing Bonga.[1] Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh* noted almost fifty years ago that the Kols knew nothing of Sing Bonga.

This is true of Central India to-day, for Kols have lost any recollection of this name as representing the Supreme Deity. Although Bhagawan is fairly consistently spoken of as the Supreme Being, nevertheless in the life of the Kols he is of small efficacy. He is not likely to pay much attention to Kols and no Kol priest knows how to approach him; only the Brahmins are said to have that ability. Kols have thus no exalted conception of Bhagawan. He is a passive distant Being influenced only by such mediators as Khermai and the like, and even then his actions are thought to be rather unstable and unpredictable. While Kols must without fail make offerings to *devatas* and *devis* yet they never make an offering directly to Bhagawan. If as a last resort an offering should be deemed advisable, a Kol may give a Brahmin a little money and ask him to make an offering and try to influence Bhagawan in his behalf. The very best Kols can do is to sing to Bhagawan. At such a time *bhagat* songs—songs of devotion—are used. Occasionally a *katha* is employed to invoke and praise Bhagawan: a Brahmin is called in and recites sacred stories (*kathas*). This, however, is infrequent among Kols and is practised mostly by higher castes. Again, the *hom* or fire offering, useful on all occasions, may be utilized, and at that time Bhagawan is invoked along with lesser deities. It is the ever-present *devis* who should be taken into account. The first step, according to Kols, is to please them. For example, Khermai, being a mediator between men and the great gods, can influence Bhagawan, but while the latter is more powerful than the *devis* and can overrule them, it is not often that he takes the trouble to do so.

Bhagawan is sometimes given the attributes of the lesser *devatas*

[1] Dalton, E. T., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 130, 132, 133, 141, etc.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

and *devis*. For example, it is stated that he is able to send certain diseases such as smallpox and cholera. But while he may send them, it is of no use to ask him to banish them; for this a lesser deity like Khermai should be invoked. It is only if she fails, and if it seems necessary to avert further distress, that they will call to him and promise him that if he will save them they will send for a *pandit* and have a *katha* in the name of Bhagawan. It is our opinion that there is little trace, if any, of a higher conception of Bhagawan among the Kols of this area.

The contacts of the Kols with higher Hinduism is feeble and markedly inconsistent. Both Vishnuite and Sivaite elements are inextricably mixed, and while Rama, Krishna and other *avataras* of Vishnu are known and stories about them are related, they have nevertheless almost no significance in actual religious ceremonies. Again, while the phallic symbols characteristic of Sivaites are not often used by Kols, nor Sivaite temples frequented, nevertheless Kali, the wife of Siva, is propitiated. Taken as a whole, the Kol worship has in it but little of adoration. It is mostly a matter of propitiation. When asked why they do not worship in certain near-by Hindu temples, the answer has been that their fathers never worshipped there and why should they.

NATURE WORSHIP. In connection with the worship of the Supreme One, mention should be made of the relation of the Kols to the forces of nature, so often deified in Hindu thought. Primitive peoples all seem to have respect for the powers of the sky, air and earth; and while in the case of the Kols it appears to have lost its primitive expression, and become Hindu in ideology, it is nevertheless apparent in their thought.

The Sun. The Sun is usually thought of as a great God, a beneficent deity who is the source of all heat and light. It is stated that their forefathers worshipped the sun, and that they do also, but on examination this worship turns out to be very formal. The village shrine often faces the rising sun, but no image of the sun is ever made. He is often called *Suryanarayana*, Sun-God.

No disrespect should be shown to the sun. When going to the fields for a call of nature, the Kol never squats without first ascertaining where the sun is, and as far as possible keeps it always to his right. The back, the front, and especially the left hand should never be toward it at such times.

The Moon. Some Kols consider the moon a goddess, while others do not seem to regard it in the category of deity at all. They

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

say there is nothing one does in relation to it. The moon is thought of as feminine and the sun as masculine, for the moon is cold and the sun is hot. There are a number of beliefs and superstitions concerning the moon. It is good luck to see the new moon before any stars are out in the sky. On seeing the new moon for the first time a Kol may either tear a corner off one of his garments and cast it toward the moon, or may hold up the garment toward the moon, saying: "Take these old clothes and give me new ones." It is usual at the same time to take worn-out pieces of cloth or just rags, and hang them on the tree near the house. This attracts the goddess of torn clothes, Chithra *devi*, who will bring good luck and in the course of time new garments.

The moon is thought to have no evil influences upon men folk and therefore is not feared by them. Women, however, are likely to be affected by the moon and as far as possible should avoid it. Pregnant women especially should not expose themselves to the moon as it is liable to cause a miscarriage or a deformed infant.

The time of an eclipse of either the sun or the moon is a time of special precaution and worship. The Kols say that the sun is devoured by a giant whom they call Dhrubh. The concept that a demon devours the sun is common all over India, but the usual Hindu concept is that it is swallowed by one named Rahu, the "looser or seizer." The Kol story goes that both the sun and the moon at one time borrowed something from Dhrubh, whom Kols call the brother of Indra. This debt must be repaid, and if at any time the sun or the moon is not able to pay on the debt, it is attacked by Dhrubh who begins to devour it. He never quite does so, however and vomits it up, as there is still money owing and payments must go on. Others say that Dhrubh is merely jealous of the moon because she is worshipped and adored while he is not. Therefore he attacks either the sun or the moon. One should bathe at the time of an eclipse. During such a time women should remain inside for it is a very dangerous season especially if they are with child. The men may go out to bathe, sing and beat the drums. Wicked spirits are abroad, and unless the women are protected by charms, they are liable to be attacked. After the release of the sun or moon, the women go out to bathe. The Nerbudda is the best place in Central India, but any tank or river will do if one cannot go so far. After bathing they should give some alms to Basors who will be waiting near by. They give to no others.

At home no food is prepared or eaten during the eclipse. Nothing cooked is left in the house, and all uncooked food should be carefully protected so as not to become a prey to the evil spirits. All the earthen vessels used in connection with food and water should be thrown out

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776 Jalni
Joginimai
Jogni
Kalimai.
Kalka.
Karmasin.
Khermai.
Lorhadhar.
Mahamai.
Marhai.
Marhimai.
Paramjiyoti.
Phonamukhi.
Phulmatimai.
Raktpiyasi.
Shardamai.
Shivari.
Sitalamai.

Phul.
Sannyasi deo.

FEMALE DEITIES WORSHIPPED BY KOLS

Alop. This deity is not widely worshipped. She is able to disappear very suddenly and reappear just as suddenly elsewhere.

[184] *Asmani devi.* "The heavenly one." This *devi* is the one who generally protects individual houses. She is particularly popular around Jubbulpore, but further north is not so often mentioned. 778 Her shrine is found in connection with the house, and a white flag, or 782 a white segment on a red flag, usually indicates her presence. Her favourite offering is a young female pig. She is usually worshipped just outside the house, although she may also be found within. The accompanying diagram shows a typical shrine to Asmani devi. She is frequently called Asmanimai.

Athabhuji. This is the goddess of eight hands. Kols are not clear about her, but probably this is a term for the wife of Siva, called Uma, Parvati, Durga, Kali and Bhavani.

Bairam. This deity is generally female, but sometimes is considered a male deity. She is usually kept outside the house, and seldom, if ever, within it. The Kols say that her chief work is to frighten away evil spirits—*bhuts.* As long as she is near the doorway, such will not dare to enter. The name may be related to the hero Bhairon, or may be a confusion with Barambaba.

Bhagavati. Really means "one who is a devotee"—a *bhagat.*

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776 782 *Buri devi.* "Bad Goddess." Sometimes this is made a male and called Bura Deo. It is probable that this is connected with the chief Gond deity, Buradeo. This deity is not widely worshipped among the Kols, but should a sacrifice be necessary she prefers a female kid of reddish colour.

Chandika. This deity is said to have one body and two mouths, one in the front and the other in the back, and is a form of Kali.

Chithra devi. Goddess of torn clothes. This deity is worshipped in connection with the new moon, when a piece of torn cloth should be offered her, good clothes held up, or some cloth tied to a Tamarind tree. In this manner she helps one to get new clothes.[1]

[241 184] *Dhartimai.* The goddess of the earth. Worship and ceremonies in connection with this deity are observed at the time of ploughing and threshing, but only by the agricultural Kols. A *hom* offering is all that is usually given her. Probably she is related more closely to the Hindu pantheon than are those requiring a bloody offering.

[773] *Jalni.* Some Kols claim that Jalni is the Creator of the universe. This may refer to Jalpati, the Hindu deity presiding over water. The Kols have the legend that before there was an earth all was water. Jalni, however, is not much worshipped by Kols.

[778] *Jogni devi.* Frequently called Jognimai, is a goddess who particularly cares for children. The picture shows a shrine outside the home.[2] The pole above has black bangles and drops of *ghi* may be observed at the base. When children are ill, or in danger, or affected by the power of evil spirits, Jognimai should be propitiated.

[751] At the time of a smallpox epidemic, one of the parents offers her a cocoanut and pours water over her shrine, in order that she may not allow the smallpox to attack the children.

[496] A Kol who worked on the railway claimed that it was Jognimai that caused the locomotives to run. He would often make an offering to her just before the locomotive started.

Kalimai. Kalimai is very popular among all the lower classes, and the Kols have also accepted her. While they do not give her the chief place, which is usually given to Shardamai, yet she is said to be one of the six sisters of Shardamai. It is not customary for Kols to

[778] have a shrine to her alone. When she is worshipped, it is at the village shrine along with the other deities such as Khermai, more generally

[822] worshipped by Kols of the village. Her colour is black, and black in a flag over a shrine indicates that she may be worshipped there. She should be offered darkish-coloured cocoanuts, or if animal sacrifices

1 See page 131.
2 See plate xx.i.

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are made, the animal should be of a black colour. Black glass bangles will also be attached to her part of the shrine or found where she is worshipped. She likes the Tulasi plant and sometimes lives in it.

Occasionally she is a household goddess and is worshipped along with other household deities.

When the spirit of Kali possesses a worshipper, he can walk without discomfort or injury on spiked sandals.[1]

Kalka. Is one of Sharda's six sisters. She is seldom invoked, for according to Kols, when Shardamai or Kalimai are worshipped she is happy and pleased.

Khermai. This *devi* is probably the one most frequently worshipped by Kols. The Census Report classes her as the Earth Goddess[2] and Crooke[3] believes Khera to be the same as Khetrpal, the field guardian. Sometimes it would appear that the term included many kinds of deities such as Kali and Sitalamai. Her shrine is found in or near every Kol village, and she is always mentioned; it is also frequently claimed that she must be considered first, subsequently any others that one might choose. Sometimes she is called Bhagavati and is said to be the best mediator between men and Bhagawan, for if she is kept pleased and contented, one does not have to worry about Bhagawan.

Khermai's duties are manifold. She is the village watchman and protector. She wards off evil spirits and prevents their entry into the village. Sometimes her shrine is placed at the south of the village to ward off the evil spirits which so frequently come from that direction. In times of illness, she is invoked, and is thought to be intimately connected with disease; when one has smallpox she is worshipped in the person who is stricken. Cholera and smallpox are sometimes said to come directly from Bhagawan, and she is the best protector in case he sends them. On such occasions she should be given a libation of water and the village may be "tied" with her help.[4]

She is thought to help the Kols in all kinds of difficulties; she guards a man going on a journey; as he leaves, he may promise her an offering of a cocoanut which he will give if he returns safely. At set times she possesses her devotees, and through them reveals her will and answers their questions on problems confronting them. The sure test of her presence is the power to thrust an iron trident through the tongue or cheek.

1 See pp. 148, 180.
2 *Census of India*, 1911. X:1, p. 98.
3 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 92, 93.
4 See Chapter IX, Tying the Village.

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776 782 Khermai is offered many things: a few annas may be left at the shrine; cocoanuts are a favourite offering; *ghi*, *puris*, *batasa*, and *ganja* are forms of food and drugs which please her and are frequently placed before her shrine. She likes *sendur* marks here and there about the place where she is worshipped, and incense is welcomed. Lemions and limes are always acceptable and should be placed before her. They also prevent the evil spirits from molesting the place.

If the occasion is sufficiently serious, an animal sacrifice is made to Khermai. Apparently no particular colour is required, although [825] in one centre it was said that should a chicken be offered, it should be white. She likes young female animals: pig, kid or lamb. These are later eaten at a ceremonial meal in connection with the shrine.

[798] Khermai is best worshipped under a *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*), and her shrine is generally found there. If there is no *nim* tree [824] available, a *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) or a *bel* (*Aegle marmelos*) tree will do. She is generally worshipped after sunset, although this is not always the rule, especially if there is an emergency. In summer time when it is hot and dry, some *gharas* of water are kept at the shrine and people frequently pour water over the shrine to cool the *devi*.

If any danger threatens the village or an epidemic is near, some milk, liquor and powdered charcoal may be mixed and sprinkled about the village in her name. This is followed by an animal sacrifice and a ceremonial meal at the shrine. In case of smallpox, in addition to the regular offerings, she may be given a bath each day for ten days. Then a mixture of oil and turmeric powder is poured out before her.

Mahamai. "The Great Mother." This goddess is the same as [753] Sitalamai, the goddess of smallpox and the name is an euphemistic title. Kols are not always clear concerning the relationship of the two and sometimes they have been named together. A red flag indicates the presence of this deity.

[761] *Marhai*. Is said to be the goddess of death, but under this name at least, does not seem to be very important, and no satisfactory information can be given about her by the Kols. She is probably the same as Maridevi.

[753] *Maridevi*. The goddess of epidemics, particularly of cholera and plague. By some informants she is said to be Khermai's elder sister. She is very powerful, and there is no better protector from these diseases than this goddess. In the Kaimur hills one group claimed that she was the most powerful of all the *devis* which they worshipped.

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They said that she spreads and controls not only cholera and small-pox, but all sorts of diseases.

She should never be offered a chicken, because it is not valuable enough to please her. She desires a young goat or pig. The *hom* sacrifice is also pleasing to her and a cocoanut always is acceptable. Pots were noticed hung in trees, and it has been ascertained that these are for her to refresh herself on a hot day. In this way they hope to win her favour.

Phulmatimai. Is a sister of Sitalamai, goddess of smallpox, but causes a milder type of eruptive disease. An offering to Sitalamai is pleasing to her, and no further sacrifice need be offered.

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Shardamai. Shardamai is generally placed at the head of their pantheon by nearly all Kols. Her name may be traced to the Sanskrit word *sarada* meaning autumnal. Her temple is near Maihar about 100 miles north of Jubbulpore, near the borders of Rewa State. It is situated on a steep hill which rises about five hundred feet above the surrounding plain, and can easily be seen to the west of the railway line. The spot is a very popular place of pilgrimage, both for Kols and other tribes and castes. A visit to this spot elicited much information about her and her worship. She has six sisters, according to informants, among them being found Kali, Kalki and Kalchi. In olden days animal sacrifices were made and the place ran with blood, but such are now prohibited by order of the authorities of Maihar State. Cocoanuts now represent the chief offering, but along with them *ghi*, *loban* (incense), *puris*, flowers, and the like are put before her. The hillside is literally covered with the shells of the cocoanuts broken before Shardamai. There are also images of other gods and goddesses under the same temple roof. These include Kali, the black goddess, wife of Siva; Narsingha, an incarnation of Vishnu; Bhagawan, the adorable one; Hanuman, the monkey god; Annapurna devi, here worshipped by the women desiring children; Chhatthi devi, worshipped on the sixth day after the child's birth, (and here the hair of the child's head is first shaved before her); Chandi devi, said to be a sister of Kali; Kotwali devi, the protector of the temple and the worshippers who come; and finally Kal Bhairo, said to be the son of Kali. In this strange company Shardamai is central and is *the* goddess of the whole.

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While Shardamai dwells in Maihar and is localized as no other Kol deity, she is nevertheless also worshipped in the homes and at the village shrines. In some places a small earthen platform, about four feet square and raised some six inches above the ground, is sufficient. Upon this a trisul is stuck in the centre to represent the place of her

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776 worship. No image is found, but there are exceptions. In Rewa State
778 it was said that she should be worshipped at least twice a year: two
782 days before the *Dasara* festival (September-October) and eight days after Chaita (March-April).

While animal sacrifices are forbidden at the Maihar temple, they may still be offered at the village shrine.[1] One group said that a black [184] kid was the only acceptable offering, while from others it was learned that chickens, lambs and suckling pigs may all be sacrificed. The usual [787] vegetable offerings are likewise acceptable. She frequently possesses people and speaks through them.

Childless women, especially, should worship her and make offerings [842] and sacrifices, so that she may speak to them through the *panda* and tell them what to do before they can expect children. Shardamai is therefore [755] reverenced at this place by childless women. It is also claimed that she can restore sight and cause the blind to walk and is a general miracle worker.

During *Chaita*, the Hindu month corresponding to parts of March 776 and April of the Christian calendar, there should be an evening fast 785 to Shardamai covering nine days. Regular food may be taken only in the [805] morning, and the evening meal should be limited to water, milk and water-nuts called *singhara* the Water-caltron (*Trapa bispinosa* or *natans*). [262] On the ninth day the big offering to Shardamai must be made. Before anyone may partake of the meal on the ninth evening, a cocoanut[2] must [782] first be broken before the village shrine and offered to her, and then the edible part distributed to those present. Thereafter regular meals may be taken. If possible someone from the village, or better yet several from the chief families should go to Maihar to worship. Their worship at Shardamai's temple and the worship at home will reinforce the bond of friendship which they must maintain.

Shivari or Sheori. Shivari is called the mother of all Kols and served 776 Rama during his exile and search for Sita and has thus become deified. Shivari is nearly always listed by Kols, nevertheless actual worship [778] of her is rare; but Kols talk of her temple somewhere in Rewa and also at Sheori-Narayan near Raipur, eastern Central Provinces. Stories concerning her are found in connection with the study of the origin of the Kols and in the chapter on legends.[3] She probably represents a tribal goddess.

[753 *Sitalamai*. This name is a euphemistic title meaning the cool,
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1 Kali worship is associated with animal sacrifice and Shardamai is probably equivalent to Durga in Hinduism.

2 Probably a relic of human sacrifice.

3 See pp. 8-10; also Chapter X.

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the peaceful one, for she is the goddess of smallpox. The burning fever and high mortality are a terror to the village people. Any kind of kid is said to be acceptable to her, and a red flag usually marks her presence. This *devi* is mostly worshipped by Kol females, although both boys and girls go before her with vegetable and food offerings for five successive days. If men should be required to make the offering, on account of some home condition which prevents the women from going to the shrine, they must not be accompanied by any female relative, but must go alone. During an attack of the disease, the Kols suppose that the *devi* is actually dwelling in the person ill, and great care must be taken to keep her in a good humour. On no account should a Kol who dies of smallpox be cremated, as it is likely that the *devi* is still residing in him, and to burn his corpse would antagonize her.

This concludes the catalogue of the chief female deities worshipped by the Kols. In the future more information may be made available about the others not yet discussed at any length.

MALE DEITIES WORSHIPPED BY KOLS

Baghdeo. Baghdeo is the tiger god and is generally revered all through the jungle country of Central India. Certain of the tribes of this area have septs named after the tiger and it may be that there is a definite totemistic relationship. Russell and Hiralal[1] note that some of these primitive tribes such as Bhatia, Binjhwar, Kawar, Kharia, Kol, Korkus, Mowar, Rautia and Savara have septs relating to the tiger which may have totemistic implications. The Rautias, for example, are said to throw away their earthen pots on hearing of the death of a tiger. Other groups abstain from killing the tiger. In some cases the connection between taboos and totemism is very slight as Grigson has noted among the Hill Marias.[2] He also records[3] that the tiger was supplanted by the buffalo as the totem of one group "since tigers so far forgot themselves as to kill and eat some men of the phratry." Now they retaliate by joining the tiger beats! Among Gonds in general it appears that Bagh worship has become all but universal, and that this worship persists irrespective of clan, phratry or tribe. Since it is apparent that the worship of the tiger is largely confined to jungle areas, much of the worship is probably protective rather than totemistic. If there ever was a totemistic stage it is now long past and all but forgotten.

1 *Op. Cit.*
2 *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, p. 230.
3 Page 241.

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776 825 773 According to Kol legends tigers and Kols have been closely associated. This may refer to the jungle habitation of early Kols or it may have a totemistic aspect. Descent from the totem may be implied in the legend recorded on pages 41-42. But now the tiger and the Kol have separated and gone their own ways, this being symbolic of changes in the Kol way of living. The tiger is reverenced because he is feared. While Kols claim that they should never hunt the tiger nor assist in a beat, nevertheless this principle is often broken due to the temptation of money. This attitude may have a totemistic origin, but it also may be due to the fear that he will return evil for evil.

776 782 825 The tiger should be propitiated along with the household gods, but as a rule he is not included in them by people who live in areas where tigers are not to be expected. It is the Kol that lives in or near the jungle who fears the tiger. Baghdeo is offered a cocoanut, *chapatis* and other food. At the *Holi* season he should be given a chicken. The opinion is advanced that if this is overlooked Baghdeo may attack, kill, and eat male members of the family not sacrificing to him. It is claimed by these folks that he will never attack a woman or a girl. If he is pleased they may go into the mountains and jungle in search of wood and grass without fear of him. If he is met, he will pass them by, and should be respectfully spoken to. A Kol need not fear a tiger unless he has neglected his offerings to Baghdeo.

776 842 782 *Bahanar Singh Deo* is another of the Kol household gods and has the power to close the womb of the women folk and cause barrenness. In one centre it was said that women who desired children should come before him and sacrifice to him in preference to Shardamai. If Bahanar Singh should fail, then Shardamai may be tried. This *deo* is particularly fond of white offerings, and a white kid or chicken is preferred. This should be offered at the village shrine. At the time of offering the woman desiring children comes before the shrine with a pot of oil and *haldi*, into which she dips her right hand and somewhere about the shrine makes an impression of the whole of her hand. This attracts Bahanar Singh and helps him to identify the woman. The *panda* is there and cuts the animal, sprinkles the blood, and tells her what to do in order that her prayer may be granted. He may advise certain other offerings, and perhaps command that she abstain from certain foods, particularly rich ones, for a season.

776 782 824 *Barum baba*. Barum *baba* is quite often thought of as an evil spirit. In the Kaimur hills it is said that he always lives in *pipal* trees. No image or sign of his presence is made. The offerings are simply placed at the foot of the tree which he inhabits, and cocoanuts and *khichri* were mentioned as offerings. It was also asserted that he likes to have the sacred

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thread hung on the tree in which he is found. Animals are never sacrificed to him. One such tree, claimed to be the dwelling place of Barum *baba* was inspected, but there was no sign of offerings having been made there. As far as possible Kols avoid trees inhabited by him, particularly after dark.

In Rewa, Barum *baba* was said to be the spirit of a deceased Brahmin. Probably this is why the sacred thread is so acceptable to him as an offering and should be hung on the trees in which he resides.

Bas deo and Barum *deo* are probably the same in the thought of the Kol. These spirits prefer to live in the *bar* or Banyan tree, though they are reported as living in *pipal* trees as well. They are mostly thought of as vindictive and evil, but it is also said that they are somewhat afraid of people and that they try to please men if they can; it is good for man to get a vision of Bas *deo*.

Bhainsokhar, *Bhaino*, and *Bhainsasor* are all forms of the buffalo god or demon. Crooke has certain information in this connection.

> The Kols believe in Naga-era who occupies wells, tanks, and stagnant waters, the embodiment of malaria, and Garha-era, a water goddess, 'frequently and truly described as the cause of sickness, and propitiated with sacrifices to spare their victims' (from Dalton). Such spirits sometimes appear in the form of animals, like Bhainsasura, the buffalo demon akin to Mahishasura, with the same meaning, who gives its name to Mysore, the embodiment of death, like the black buffalo on which Yama, god of death, rides, which was slain by Durga, the life protecting goddess. They often show themselves in the shape of a turban which clings to the fisherman's hook and increases in size as he tries to drag it ashore or pulls him into the water—all impersonations of the vague awe and mystery of dark, still water pools. Hence they are special protectors of passengers at Ghats or fords.[1]

The Kols we interviewed are vague about this deity, but feel that the buffalo god is dangerous and ought to be propitiated. At Benda a shrine was found to him. A picture shows the white mound in the centre of a platform as his dwelling place.[2] The plants are *Tulasi*—the sacred basil.

Burha deo. This deity is probably the same as Bura *deo*, said to be the chief deity of the Gonds. While Kols know him, it appears that very little is actually done, other than that his name may be called at times of worship along with other lesser deities.

Dulha deo. The worship of Dulha *deo* or Dulha *baba* is widespread in Central India, and the Kols have much to do with him. He

1 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 60.
2 See plate xxii.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

776 is the bridegroom deity. The general view is well summed up by Crooke:

> Strange, abnormal features of the scenery often become objects of veneration. In Mirzapur District there is a rock in the form of a hideous, grinning skull, with enormous teeth, known as Dantandeo, 'the demon with the teeth'. ....The same feeling is illustrated by the cult of Dulhadeo, 'the bridegroom deity', which is widely spread from the Central Provinces up to the hills which rise above the valley of the Ganges. He is one of the deified spirits of men suddenly slain before their desires were accomplished, and like others of his kind he should have become a Bhut or malignant spirit. But he is now generally regarded as a friendly household godling. Stone pillars and rocks are often associated with his tragic fate.....[1]

A Kol at Barela insisted that Dulha *deo* was the supreme deity, but generally speaking he is regarded by the Kols as a beneficent household god. [778] He usually dwells within the house and a piece of stone placed in a notch in the wall and daubed with *sendur* indicates his presence. He is offered sacrifices at set seasons, but before each meal a little food should be put aside for him. If he is neglected and gets angry he may cause harm to the family. If he is to be venerated outside the house, a little mound of earth about eight inches high may be raised close to the wall of the house not far from the doorway. This is simply whitewashed and called Dulha *deo*.

776 782 [805 787] Offerings made to him are much like those given to other deities. It is often said that he should never be offered a chicken. He prefers either a kid or suckling pig. His favourite time of worship is in the Hindu month of *Kunwar*, (September-October). This is the time his spirit possesses people and speaks through them.

[264 585] In Rewa, Kols say that after the marriage festivities the families concerned must not eat without first making an offering to Dulha *deo*. The main offering should be a male pig, which is offered to him, then cooked before the shrine and eaten sacramentally. The bones and pieces that are left are buried in a hole in the floor of the house, for if they should be thrown out or exposed trouble would result.

Gwalbansa baba. This deity is another household god of the same type as Dulha *deo*. He is said to be the master of the house and is always worshipped within the dwelling. He is particularly propitiated at *Jawara* time when an animal offering, preferably a goat or pig, is sacrificed inside the house. The blood is sprinkled about the [264] niche in the wall down near the floor which had been freshly plastered. Nothing whatsoever of the slain animal should be allowed to go out-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

side the house. The entrails and anything left over after the meal, such as bones, hair, skin and the like are thrown into a hole especially prepared for them. This hole is dug in the earthen floor not far from the place where Gwalbansa *baba* dwells. A bit of ashes may first be placed in the hole, then the leftovers, and on top a good layer of ashes; then the hole closed up again with earth and the spot plastered. Fevers and heart diseases are said to be the result if any part of the offering is carelessly exposed.

Hardaul baba is commonly worshipped by the Kols in connection with cholera. He is then offered a red chicken and cocoanuts. Crooke has noted the origin of this deity who is really a modern one.

> In Upper India the chief cholera godling is Hardaul, Hardiya, or Hardiha Lala, the second son of Bir Singh, Raja of Orchha in Central India, who in 1602 at the instigation of Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir, slew the accomplished Abu-l-fazl, the historiographer of the reign of Akbar. Jhajhar Singh, the elder brother of Hardaul, suspecting that he was engaged in *ar intrigue with his wife*, compelled her to poison him at a feast. His horses and dogs died with him, and, like the hero, became dangerous ghosts. When his body was cremated, a pole was set up to mark the place, and when his sister came to mourn him and flung her arms about the post, it split in pieces as a proof that he recognized her. His ghost continued to wander until he was deified and worshipped.[1]

Khetrapal, "field guardian," called Bhumiya sometimes, is another agricultural deity. He guards the fields and, during the growing season, an earthen pot is whitewashed, some black daubs are put upon it and it is placed upside down on the top of a pole in the field.

Mahabir. "The Great Hero." This is the name by which the Kols speak of Hanuman, "he with the great jaws"—the monkey god. *Langur* apes (*Semnopithecus entellus*), are very common through many parts of the Central Provinces and are highly respected and protected.

One group of Kols asserted that Mahabir is the greatest of the deities and that the sun is his shelter. Mahabir's favourite colour is red, and it is not uncommon over village India to see the figure of the monkey god smeared with *sendur*. Kols say that he likes red and that it not only increases his beauty, but also his wrath against the evils affecting human kind. When his wrath is thus aroused, he seeks to remove all the troubles and miseries of human beings. The red causes him to hate these things, and he can effectively act only when his wrath has been aroused by its presence.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 126.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

He is given offerings of foods and vegetables and the *kos* offering is always acceptable. Because he is in the form of an animal, he should never be given an animal sacrifice. Among Hindus, Hanuman is also worshipped by the Vaishnavite sect which does not offer animal sacrifices. According to some Kols, Tuesday is the best day to offer Mahabir his sacrifices and these are offered only by men. The cocoanuts and foods offered and placed before him are, after prayer, taken up and distributed among the worshippers present. Some said that Mahabir is displeased if anyone should be worshipped before him. He has supreme control over all *devis* and *deotas*, and they have no power over him nor can they touch him. Therefore they worship him first. It was only one group that made this surprising claim.

Mansa deo. Mansa *deo* is also a household god, but is usually worshipped outside the house. A small platform of mud is raised by the wall just in front of the house, and on the wall some daubs (usually four) of *sendur* are put, and two small red flags are set up. Some ashes will often be found there and bangles, beads, and the like. If Mansa *deo* is not kept contented by the usual offerings of food and cocoanuts, he may attack the family. When he is happy, he wards off evil spirits.

Nanga baba. This word means "Naked Father," and the Barela Kols believe that he lives in the hills just above that town. He is greatly respected for his purity and plainness of life. His main task is that of stone sculpturing. Many of the oddities of geology about Barela are ascribed to him and his work, and some of the stones which he is said to have cut up, smoothed and flattened are used today for the building of bridges. Nanga *baba* fashioned them, they believe.

Sannyasi deo. This god is usually found associated with the village shrine. Probably he is the spirit of an ascetic of some kind, now elevated to the place of a *deota*. He is offered cocoanuts and tobacco, and protects people. The offering of tobacco probably confirms the conjecture that he was once a wandering *sadhu*. At the time of the *bawa* if he should enter and possess a devotee, the person possessed will reveal the presence of Sannyasi by taking up the iron tongs kept at the shrine and beating and pinching himself with them. To do this is a sure sign that Sannyasi *deo* has come and is truly present.

All of these deities are known to the masses of the people in Central India, and are propitiated from two points of view. This has been aptly described as "spirit scaring" and "spirit squaring."[1] If

1 Enthoven, R. E., *Folklore of Bombay*, p. 14.

2 [i.e., Mahabir or Hanuman.]

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the presence of the spirit is considered injurious to the interests of what is in hand, it should be driven away so that it may not interfere. The "spirit squaring" aspect is perhaps the more common in the case of the deities. They are to be kept happy, propitiated, and given a place to rest. If neglected, they become ill-disposed toward the village. Most of these deities are pleased with bloody sacrifices but one does not find, in this section, the orgies such as are prominent in the worship of the village gods of South India.[1]

THE VILLAGE PRIEST—THE PANDA. The religious life of the Kol is connected, as has been seen, with the lesser deities and evil spirits. Worship centres at the village shrine and is usually directed and controlled by the village priest. While the Brahmin priest may be called on occasions which require his presence, such as weddings, name-giving, Bhagawan worship or the like, he has nothing to do with the actual worship at the village shrine. His presence has a social validity rather than a religious one. The worship of the village *devis* is not *reserved for a particular class. Any man who seems to have the* proper credentials may become the village priest and is called a *panda*. The *panda* is usually a Kol, and while they respect the Baiga priests, the latter are usually called only for magical purposes; it is customary for a Kol *panda* to perform all that is necessary for the religious life of the community. It is usual to find but one recognized *panda* in a village, but every village does not necessarily have such a man. It may be necessary for one village to call a *panda* from another village. But the line of demarcation is so uncertain that, if such a priest is not able to come, any one of the elderly Kols may temporarily perform the function of a *panda*. The *pandas* do not confine themselves exclusively to their religious duties, and often they are found digging, cutting grass, breaking stones and performing all that the average Kol does.

In a certain sense the office is hereditary, although the son must prove his worth before he is recognized. It is usual to find that the officiating *panda's* father was the village priest before him, or a priest at some other village. The son is trained by the father, and at the time of the *bawa* when the father is possessed of the *devi*, the son is the assistant and keeps the shrine in order and the elements propitious as long as his father is in the trance. If the *panda* has no eligible son, it is the one whom "the *devi* selects" who becomes his successor. At any rate the son has to pass tests which will indicate whether or not he is the *devi's* choice.

1 Whitehead, Henry, *The Village Gods of South India*.

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778 [271 776] in these vessels, and a tiny hole pierced in the bottom so that the water drops over the shrine. This is popular in warm weather when the *devi* should be cooled and the dripping water is pleasing to her.

17. *Tinsel* (*Tika*): Women often place a small round dot made [302] of lac tinsel on the centre of their foreheads. It is usually of red colour. These bits of tinsel are used in the shrines as well, and are stuck on it here and there. The *devis* like them and they help to attract them to the shrine.

18. *Stone* (*Patthar*). Bits of stone, usually pieces rounded in the bed of streams and longish in shape, are often found somewhere about the shrine. This may be an imitation of the *Salagrama* stones found [931] in connection with the worship of Vishnu. Sometimes they are of *lingam* type such as used in the worship of Siva.

This sums up the items usually found in Kol shrines. Probably no shrine we saw had all these components, though the Kaimur shrine came nearest to it. In addition to the above, there was at Kaimur an unusual feature. This was a flat stone which had apparently come [823] from some ancient Hindu temple and on which two figures were carved. The *panda* of the shrine claimed that it was brought from Rewa and ● [782 789] that the figures represented Sharda and Kalki. The stone must have weighed about eighty pounds, but, it was claimed, if a *hom* offering were performed when it was moved, it became very light and was [386] easy to transport. It was coloured red with *sendur*. It will have been noticed how imperfectly anthropomorphized the godlings are, and that no special images are required.

The only Kol shrine which had brick walls and a roof was found on the outskirts of Katni. The room measured about five feet square inside, was four feet high, and had a flat roof. This was called the shrine of Khermai, although on the flat top Barmai was said to dwell. [824] Also tongs were there for Sannyasi *deo*. The usual bundle of *kans* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) was on top of it.

778 793 The offerings, the lighting of the lights and the placing of the necessary parts, are all in the hands of the *panda*. It is not part of his work, however, to keep the shrine clean and properly plastered. This is the duty of the women of the village, and they take turns in doing it. The shrine is plastered at least once a week and cleaned oftener. The sweepings, including ashes, dust, bits of cocoanut shells and the like, are not swept to the ground beside the shrine, but are carefully put into a basket by the woman who is doing the work. If they should be thrown out upon the earth, evil will result, so they are carried to a stream or a tank and thrown into the water. They are sacred ashes, likened unto the ashes following a cremation and must be respected.

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778 was washed as well. The *puris* were then put right beside the shrine
796 in piles and the cocoanuts in front. The two flags carried by the
755 boy were set up along with others which had accumulated at the shrine, the larger by Khermai and the smaller one by Asmanimai. Two or three of the cocoanuts were then broken and laid before the *devis*.

Another procession now started, this time around the shrine of Khermai only. It too went in a clockwise direction, not around the platform as a whole, but on the platform and around the *devi*. This time three rounds were made. The woman with the dishevelled hair and her husband both measured their lengths in this procession, but the others did not do so, they simply walked around. The group then gathered again in front of Khermai and the woman once more prostrated herself, although not as vigorously as before. In the meantime the drummer came down and sat beside a small hedge near the shrine. His wife spread out a piece of cloth in front of him, and the villagers proceeded to pour out their offerings of rice, wheat, *dal* and the like onto the cloth. It was said that this went to the drummer. At the same time individual members of the group on the platform were breaking the remaining cocoanuts into small pieces. These were distributed to everyone within sight. The *puris* were not distributed; that would be done later on.

The accompanying diagram shows the arrangement of this shrine and gives an idea of what was done. See figure 27 and plate XXV.

778 *Offerings at the Shrines.* Considerable mention has been made
782 of the offerings presented at Kol shrines, but more should be added and the matter summarized.

The general tendency is toward offerings of cocoanuts and food rather than animals. This is partly due to economic reasons, but may also be due to the influence of the Vaishnavite sect of Hinduism.

The most common single offering is the *hom*, which is essentially a fire sacrifice. This must have been borrowed from the Hindus. Into the fire burning before the deity is dropped *ghi* and incense. Sometimes pieces of cocoanut, or seeds and drops of lime juice are added.

The cocoanut is universally offered, and it has been suggested
[824] that it is symbolic of human sacrifice and that the shell represents the human skull. As a rule Kols seem to have no knowledge of this point of view. At the temple of Shardamai and Maihar, the Brahmin priest
[773] told us the cocoanuts were symbolical of the head of a certain Alhandal who used to bathe Shardamai daily with water and finally sacrificed his own head to her. She was so pleased at this that she gave him the gift of immortality. According to Crooke, Alha and Udal were

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two Ranaphar Rajput heroes engaged in a war between two Rajput clans. This was dated about 1165-1203 A.D.[1]

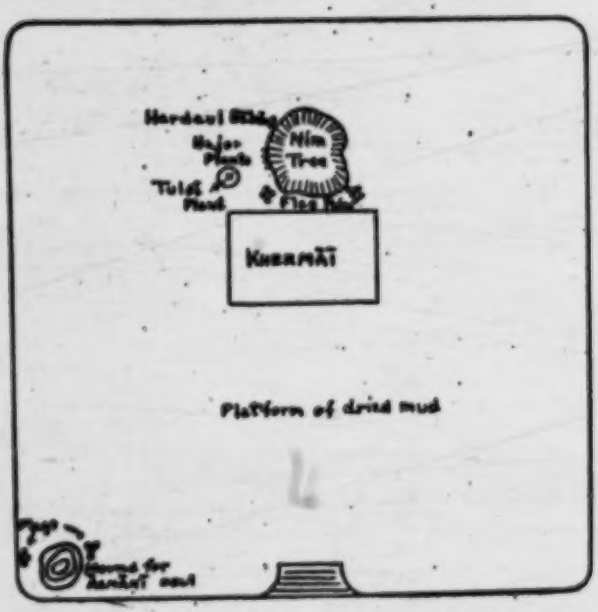

Fig. 27

Usually the cocoanut is first laid whole before the deity, and after the ceremonies have been performed and any invocations offered by the *panda*, the cocoanut is broken by hitting it on the ground or on a stone. It is always struck on the stone; not broken by being hit by a stone or other instrument. The shell is thrown aside and the edible portion placed before the deity. Pieces are distributed to each of the worshippers and onlookers, who then eat before her. A priest may break a cocoanut in the absence of the offerer, if the latter is not able to be present.

Lemons or limes are also offered. These please and attract the *devis*. They are also liked by demons and may attract them. Should

1 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

778 782 [824] such seem to be the case, a piece of lemon may be thrown well away from the shrine. The evil spirit will go after it, forgetting all about what is going on at the shrine. Such spirits are easily outwitted in this manner.

Foods offered include almost all kinds cooked in *ghi*: *puris*, *khichri* and various sweets. *Ghi* itself is frequently put about.

[825] Animals which make acceptable offerings include the chicken, goat, pig and sheep. The latter is very expensive and is not often resorted to. The mature goat or pig is almost never sacrificed—young ones are preferred by the *devis*. Usually a *devi* desires a female of the species offered, and a *deota* a male. The animal to be sacrificed is brought before the shrine, having been first washed and marked with *sendur*. Its throat is cut with an iron knife and the blood is sprinkled directly before the symbols, or at the foot of the tree where the little flags are located. Sometimes the animal is decapitated with a single blow, and only the head is taken on the platform, and blood from it [262 264] dropped over the symbols. The animal is then cleaned, cooked and eaten beside the shrine, and the people partake of a ceremonial meal together. The bones and bits left over are carefully gathered and taken away, either by some low-caste Hindu who may be around, or by some Kol who takes them outside the village boundary and [435] deposits them in a *nala* or place where water is likely to flow. The kid or suckling pig costs from one to three rupees each depending upon the size. Kols never raise pigs and so have to buy them. Goats, [231] however, are often kept and are generally available. The kind and size of animal offered usually depends on the economic condition of the worshipper. It is also said that when a man desires to make an [787 793] offering, he will pray that in a dream the kind of offering he should make may be revealed to him. A *panda's* advice is also sought.

Some deities are said to have particular preferences regarding [776 822] the colour of the animal sacrificed. The Kols are far from consistent, but generally for Kali or Kalika, the colour should be black. Khermai generally prefers white and Marimai red. Most of the *devis* are not very discriminating.

776 778 782 Kols make these offerings in order to protect themselves from the troubles, diseases and miseries of life. Possibly they will lead the deities to be merciful. They are promised that if all goes well they will receive sacrifices and offerings regularly. If offered properly, these sacrifices are thought to bind the deity and practically force her to do as the worshipper desires. The people are thus psychologically confident of a good outcome. If the deities are kept pleased and happy

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in this way, all is well; but if they get angry, they will trouble the people who have neglected them.

THE HOME SHRINE. Shrines found at the homes are much simpler than the village shrines and are found either inside or just outside the house, or in both places. Those outside the house are placed in the front wall facing the courtyard, and the wall of the house is a part of the shrine. Sometimes a little hole is made in the wall to shelter the *devi* when it rains. These shrines may be dedicated to any of the *devis* mentioned in the preceding pages—Asmanimai, Kalimai, Khermai, Marimai and Shardamai being the most commonly worshipped outside the house. One finds flags above, and also below; the iron trident; black and other kinds of bangles; a *salagrama* stone; *sendur* marks and the like. Iron lashes and strings of beads are not uncommon.

The place reserved within the dwelling for the household goddess, or god is even simpler. There is a niche in the wall from four to six inches above the floor. Within the niche is found a *salagrama* stone or some iron symbol reddened with *sendur*. Vermilion is also daubed on the wall round the niche. The floor space immediately below the deity is plastered with cowdung. A small trident usually leans against the wall at one side of the shrine; there is a *dip* which is lighted at dusk, when the women of the house prostrate themselves before the shrine. As was noted, both kinds of shrines are usually found. If the house is just a hut of branches, and there is no earthen wall, symbols of the deities will be found on the floor in one of the corners. The house shrine is generally called *dewahar* or *dewala*.

DEVI POSSESSION. (*Bawa*). The phenomenon of spirit possession is fairly common among certain of the lower classes. The Kols also practise this. The trance occurs before the village shrine and is usually induced only at the time of the *Jawara* festivals, which come at the spring and autumnal equinox. It may be resorted to on other occasions if there seems to be a case of extreme necessity. The actual trance is induced partly by the singing and the beating of drums, at which Kols are so adept. The person seeking the *bawa* takes his place before the *devi* and after a period of concentration and emotion begins to tremble, then shout, beat himself upon the ground, and becomes in appearance a totally different person. During this time he will answer questions put to him by persons seeking guidance, who believe that it is not he that is answering them, but the spirit at that time resident in him. During this period, the one under the possession of the *devi* is practically insen-

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

orthodox Hindus each passage of the sun from one constellation to another is marked by some kind of ceremony. The change after the sun has reached its most northern course coincides with the coming of the welcome monsoon rains, which turn the dry and dusty lands into a paradise of green. Russell and Hiralal also note that the Kurmis, an agricultural caste in the Central Provinces, keep this festival in the month of *Srawan* (July-August).[1]

Hariyari. This has been named to us by Kols and is probably very similar to, if not identical with, the *Hareli* festival. Crooke has a few words by way of information: "Bhuiyas, Kols, and Binds of the United Provinces also worship during the rainy season Haryari Devi, 'Mother of Greenery', by employing their Baiga priest to sacrifice chickens and to pour a libation of wine on the field after harvest or before the sowing season."[2]

Holi. This festival is usually called *Phag* by Kols as it occurs in the month of *Phagun* (February-March). It is essentially a spring festival, largely entered into and carried on by the lower castes. It marks the coming of spring, and the sympathetic magic in the ceremony tends to promote the fertility of crops and animals.

Kols who live in or near cities and towns observe this more than those isolated in villages. In Rewa a group of Kols claimed that they would not particularly observe it, but Kols near Jubbulpore said that those who remained behind in Rewa observed it much more fully than they who had left and come away.

Preparations for the *Phag* festival were watched in a Kol village close to Jubbulpore, and our enquiries were freely answered. The first part of the festival centres around a great bonfire which is arranged much as Hindu castes construct it. This should always be built outside the village and eastwards, towards the rising sun. If one Kol village cannot get up enough enthusiasm for a good celebration, they may join with another village in their preparations, or several villages may join together. The wood for the fire may be taken by force or stolen from its owners, and the owners are not supposed to make any protest.

The place chosen for the fire is first cleared and levelled. In the centre a hole is dug, into which the pole, around which the wood is to be stacked, will be inserted. Two pice, some *haldi* and a *supari* nut are dropped into the hole. The central pole should be of *andi* wood, the castor oil stalk (*Palma christi*), and around this the wood, brush and other inflammable materials are laid. The larger the pile the more

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV. p. 84.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 285.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

comes from the word *Sraoani*—severing of cords—and occurs in the month of *Sraoan* or *Sawan* (July-August). This is really the Brahmanical name for *Rakhi* and refers to the removal of the old sacred thread and the gift of a new one. The festival was named only by the Kols at Kotmi, on the Southern border of Rewa.

Tija. This is often given by Kols and is the more common term for the *Khajleniya* festival noted above. It refers to the women's work on the ninth day and is thus essentially a woman's festival. In some places the words are put together: *Tija-Khajleniya.*

It should be observed that but few of the features in the more popular festivals observed by Kols may be traced directly to Hindu influence of a higher kind. Even where there are parallels, the worship is of a different nature, simpler and much more animistic.

AGRICULTURAL RITES. It will have been noted that some of the Kol festivals, *Jawara*, for example, are connected with agricultural magic. A few illustrations are given concerning the activities of the agricultural Kols at the time of planting, reaping and threshing.

Sowing. The sowing of crops is closely associated with the fall *Jawara* festival which precedes the sowing of the winter wheat, harvested in March and April. The second phase of *Jawara* comes in the spring at the close of the harvest. It was noted that the *Jawara* sowings at *Kunwar* give a forecast of the coming crops. The greater the number of plants the better the price, and the rootlets help one to judge the size of the crop.

At the actual time of ploughing the Kols have few, if any, ceremonies. A *hom* offering to *Dhartimai*—the goddess of earth, or Mother Earth—is made just before the ploughing begins.

During the growing season an earthenware pot, coloured white and dotted with black marks, is set upside down on a pole in the centre of the field. This is chiefly to avert the evil eye and to protect the crops, though some call it *Khetrapal* or *Bhumiya.* Its presence insures fertility.

Reaping. When the time to reap has come, the one who controls the harvest will take some curds with him to the field. From some heads of the still unreaped wheat or rice, a few grains are taken and mixed with the curds. The man then goes about the field scattering a bit of the curds and wheat here and there. This is said to be an act of propitiation as *Bura deo* is probably living in the field in some form or other, possibly as a snake, and some accident may result if he is not propitiated in this manner; it may be a serpent bite, or a cut from the sickle. This propitiation likewise helps to bring a good

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

241 782 harvest. *Bura deo* may also be worshipped at some termite mound nearby, and a cocoanut offered him.

Threshing. Before the wheat is threshed, a threshing pole about which the cattle tread must be set up. A bundle of wheat heads, the first cut from the field, are tied together and placed at the top of at least one pole on the threshing floor. A string of beads and bangles is occasionally put with the bundle of wheat straw. The spirit of the wheat, who is thought of as being driven from her field, finds refuge here, and will have a chance to find a new dwelling place. The threshing may now begin and the animals tread the wheat as seen in plate x. It is then winnowed and the hot dry wind carries the chaff away. Before the grain is measured, there should be a *hom* offering made on cow dung cakes which are set alight, and *ghi* and pieces of cocoanut placed thereon. *Dhartimai* is very fond of this. When the offering has thus been made, the wheat is measured. The first measure is usually set aside for an offering at the shrine.

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Lemons and Limes are able to protect one by attracting the attention of the spirit so that he forgets his original evil intentions. So a lime may be carried about one, tied in the loin cloth. A spirit approaches the man, smells the lime and makes for it, and is so taken up with its 'find' that it forgets the man. If this should happen, the lime upon examination will be found to bear evidences of this attack: the juice will be drained away and the lime may even be split. At the time of worship a lime is sometimes cut and thrown as far as possible. Evil spirits hovering about the sacrifice will take after the lime and, fighting over it, will forget what is going on at the shrine. Limes are also pleasing to *devis* and when the *hom* sacrifice is made some lime juice is frequently squeezed into the fire.

Magic Circles. There are many forms of the magic circle and the shape does not always have to be circular. Any circular article like a bangle or a string of beads is a protection. At the time of the *bawa* an iron ring will often be found encircling the fire for the *hom* offering. The tying of the village with a mixture of charcoal, liquor and milk is an example of the use of the magic circle. Such a circle is put about the place of worship if demonic influence is feared. The circle of ashes round the bed of the mother and her new-born babe has been previously mentioned.

Magic Symbols and figures are also efficacious. Such are pictured upon the walls of the lying-in room and on the walls outside the door, and we have given reproductions of them.[1] Sometimes they are tattooed on the body, and the swastika and the *shasti* are the favourites. Symbols marked by the priest on the forehead are useful protective devices.

Mantras. There is also a great power resident in *mantras* or magic spells. Such *mantras* are very potent in driving off evil spirits. At one time *mantras* may have been Vedic texts, but now-a-days the term *mantra* "is extended to all magical forms of words, letters, sounds or any hocuspocus which bring good luck to the happy possessor of them and evil to his enemies, spirits, or casters of the evil eye. These are often inscribed on paper, the ink in which they are written is drunk, or they are kept in metal cases or inscribed on metal or other talismans."[2]

Some *mantras* which may be used against evil spirits and diseases are as follows:

1 See page 82.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 220.

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171 789 776 examples are current among low caste Hindus and do not represent the more polished type to be found higher up.

Milk. The use of milk has been mentioned in connection with 272 776 the magic circle. The good spirits like it, and certain evil spirits are passionately fond of it. Milk is scattered over the ashes after the 782 funeral pyre has burnt down. Milk propitiates Nag, the serpent god. 789

Names. Great care should be exercised in the selection and use 551 of names, as they become a part of one's personality. A good name is also attractive to evil spirits, and if the spirits come to know that a 789 certain child has such a name they may make an attack on the innocent thing. Therefore, call the child by an evil name such as 'fly', 'filth', 'one-eyed', and the spirits will not condescend to notice him. [754] Such names protect in another manner as well. If one gets possession of the name of someone—his real name—he may, through the charms of black magic, work harm to the person concerned. Therefore the child's true name should never be known to people lest they should work ill with it. The use of magic on a false name is ineffective and no harm can come to one.

789 *Noises* of various types are demon-scarers for they dislike noise; [825] hence the beating of drums, the occasional fireworks and other devices, by which loud noises are produced when necessary.

Nuts and Seeds of various kinds are useful. Many Kol children 789 have a *ghata* nut (*Zizyphys xylopyrus?*) tied to a string which is hung 824 somewhere about the person, often on the wrist. Mustard seeds are freely sprinkled about if spirits are expected, and, as in the case of limes, distract their attention. They are scattered round the place where a body is burnt. Black *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) is often [585] used on similar occasions. The *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) is placed below the sacred pole in the marriage booth and under the foundation stone of the house. These are in this manner protected from evil.

Salt has its magic use among the Kols. It has a preservative 789 power, and this, together with its power over demons, accounts for 263 its being scattered over the place where the dead have been cremated. [765] It should not be put into the food during the period of mourning after a death in the home, and the chief mourner should not use it for a year.

755 *Scape Animals.* Among Kols there is a belief that an evil spirit 787 resident in a man may be transferred to an animal and the man thus freed. It is not unusual to bring a man believed to be possessed of 825 a spirit before the shrine together with a chicken or goat, usually the 782 former. The *panda* invokes Khermai amid singing and drumming, or mostly drumming, and there may be a *baiga* along with it. Under

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these conditions the evil spirit is sternly addressed and in the name of Khermai is ordered to leave the person affected and enter the chicken. Upon being satisfied that the transaction has actually occurred there are now two or three ways of dealing with the chicken. The most common procedure is to sacrifice it to Khermai, and as the blood is sprinkled at the base of the shrine she is implored to conduct the evil spirit far away so that it may trouble them no more. The less common method is to take the chicken into the jungle, the further away the better, and loose it there, invoking Khermai to let the spirit be in the chicken as long as the latter lives; then when the chicken dies, never to allow the spirit to be able to find its way back to the village. If the chicken should return alive to the village it would mean that the spirit would also re-enter and harm someone.

Supa. The *supa* or winnowing fan is a great protective and has many magical uses. The new-born infant is laid in it and no evil spirit will dare touch him there. It is used in various wave ceremonies, notably during the wedding cycle. It is used to cast out demons and to detect demon possession.

Tattooing has its protective value and in an earlier section this was discussed. It was noted that it protected against disease and aided in the necessary household activities.[1]

Threads, red or black in colour, are useful about the neck. This applies particularly to the child, but the adult often has one somewhere on his person. At *Rakshabandan* time the opposite sexes tie threads on members of the family. Threads are used in connection with the marriage of trees and a thread is wrapped seven times around the marriage pole. Threads are often knotted to afford further protection.

Thorns. Thorns afford great trouble to the spirits. They are put over the bodies of the deceased in the graves and are often put about the houses, where they serve the dual purpose of keeping off both beast and spirit. They are used in magical practices, so that when a jackal crosses the road a pile of thorns should be set up, a stone put in the centre, and with one's foot placed on the stone the jackal should be roundly cursed.

Trees and Plants. Any tree associated with the gods is holy and keeps away evil powers and influences. A *charpai* or cot of *nim* wood is very useful as it protects one when he is helpless in his sleep. Some *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) should always be placed in the lying-

1. See pp. 29-31.

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from the tin or the bottle, around the whole or part of the village. The *kom* sacrifice should be made by each household, and following the whole procedure, animals may be sacrificed at the village shrine, and a feast enjoyed by all.

TESTS FOR EVIL SPIRITS. It was said by Kols that there are certain obvious evidences of spirit possession. Mental cases are attributed to evil spirits as are cases of paralysis and the like. If one acts irrationally it is taken for granted that he is possessed and efforts should be made to free him.

Sometimes it is not quite so easy to tell whether an evil spirit is really about, or whether he should be blamed for the misfortune under consideration. If a man has a disease which defies treatment, and if he is wasting away, it may be that he has an evil spirit working in him. To determine for certain there are some tests which may be made. Among them are the following:

On the floor of the room, in which the man lies ill, a circle made with wheat flour is marked out, and in the centre of the circle an earthenware lamp is placed. Grains of wheat and *urad* pulse are carefully counted and put in a particular position and sequence. The Baiga or *panda*, as the case may be, then pronounces some *mantras* over them and the room is left to the ill man for the rest of the night. In the morning the grains are counted again and their positions carefully checked, and the ring of flour is examined for any marks or indications of having been disturbed. If there are signs of a disturbance of any kind, or if there are missing grains, it is a sure proof that an evil spirit has been about and has meddled with those articles. Of course, it is difficult to believe that any disturbance could not have taken place with mice and rats everywhere in abundance.

A second method is based upon the use of limes. It will be recalled that spirits are very fond of this kind of fruit and greedily attack them. Several limes are therefore taken, and a large number of sharp needles stuck into each, perhaps as many as twenty-five. These limes are then placed in a position where a spirit, were it to come into the room, would be sure to notice them. In the morning these are again carefully examined, the needles pulled out, or the limes broken and the needles inspected. If there should be a drop of blood on any of the needles the spirit has been there. It would have seen the lime, snatched at it greedily without observing the needles imbedded in it and been pricked by their sharp points. Any formation of rust would be interpreted as blood and be the indication of the presence of a spirit.

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it is like the chaff being driven away and lost. While the *supa* is being waved the Baiga blows, and thus the divine afflatus is communicated to the person.

There is also a magic way of warding off the evil eye and removing its power from one affected by it. A Baiga is called, who, after the usual preparations and offerings, takes a stick and dips it in *til* oil. This is lighted and held over a vessel filled with water, all being performed in the presence of the person suspected of being the victim of the evil eye. If drops of the burning oil fall into the water with a hissing sound the person affected at once begins to feel the influence of the evil eye passing from him. But if the hairs on his body begin to stand up and he begins to feel faint, it is a sure sign that something is wrong and that there is an evil spirit in the case, or that the power of the evil eye requires still stronger measures to remove it.

Kols also believe in, and practise, what may conveniently be called "cross-roads magic". The afflicted person is carried on a bed to the particular cross-roads where the ceremony is to be performed. He is set down in the centre and the friends who brought him make the offerings, which should be sacrificed in the same way as they would be at the village shrine. This may be done at any time of the day or night, but to be really effective it should not be witnessed by any stranger. If some one should approach while the sacrifices are being offered he will be warned away, for if he comes he may break the spell or may himself be affected. It is thought that the disease afflicting the person is loosed at the cross-roads and will attach itself to the first person who passes that way. For this reason Kols usually avoid cross-roads and if possible will pass by some other way. Sometimes a scape animal is released after the offerings are made, and it is believed that he will carry the disease away.

MEDICINES AND MAGIC. Among Kols illness and disease are often ascribed to the work of unfriendly spirits. Cholera and smallpox are particularly the work of the goddesses, and only through them can they be controlled. Other diseases are due to lesser evil spirits. In spite of this, there is also the attitude that in many cases illness is due to the foolishness of man, and that many types of illness can be cured by means of home remedies. Failing these, or any other explanation, the illness is looked upon as indeed the work of a spirit. There are many remedies in use by the Kols for the diseases which abound in India, and the remedies in common use among them are listed below.

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[23] [825]

one's bodyguard. On the whole the dogs of an Indian village are a miserable lot and are a menace to the health of the people.

The tiger is another animal reverenced by Indian peasants and is very prominent in their folk belief, especially in areas where tigers roam. This is also shared by the Kols and as a jungle people they reverence him. A Kol should never take part in a beat to track down a tiger. If one should be met in the forest he should be addressed very respectfully. Certain parts of the tiger are useful as powerful charms. The whiskers, teeth and claws are prophylactics against the evil eye. To eat his flesh, particularly his heart, gives one the disposition of a tiger. To see a dead tiger is bad luck as his spirit may later harm the person observing him. If worshipped as Baghdeo[1] the tiger will not injure any one he meets in the forest nor molest the cattle. There is a story current among the Kols that in the distant past a tiger was born out of a Kol. During the years that followed they lived together peacefully in the forest, but after a time the tiger began to trouble Kols so that a separation was deemed advisable and since that time they have lived apart.[2]

[789] [262] [777] [773]

The serpent is both feared and reverenced by Kols. It is usually the cobra which is adored, although Kols treat all serpents with respect. However, it is considered no great sin to slay a cobra, but it must not be done unless the cobra is stubborn and shows fight, particularly when in the house. If a cobra, or any other snake is found in a dwelling house it is addressed respectfully as *maharaj* and asked politely to leave. It may be helped out with a little judicious poking with a stick. If it goes out readily it is helped on its way and if all goes well is not molested further. If, however, the *nag* shows fight and does not appear willing to leave the house or courtyard it may be beaten and killed and its body burned. An offering should be made to its spirit after such an occasion. At the time of the festival of Nagpanchami[3] milk is set out for snakes, a common practice all over Central India.

[782] [796]

The horse is an animal with which Rautiya Kols do not have much to do; as a rule they will not touch one, and its dung is absolutely taboo. Some of their traditions concerning horses are recorded on previous pages.[4]

[23] [237]

The sacrificial animals are the chicken, goat, pig and sheep.

[782]

We could not find out much concerning the Kol idea of birds.

1 See pages 141-142.
2 See pages 41-42.
3 See pages 171-172.
4 See pages 34-35; also Chapter X.

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824
spirits or goddesses. It has been noted that the mango branch plays [776]
an important part in wedding functions. It was also noted that in
building the wedding booth Kols ought to use, if possible, wood from [585]
the *saleh* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) both for the main supports of the
marhwa and for the sacred pole, the *magrohan*. The consensus of
opinion is that for the latter the *saleh* is absolutely indispensable.

The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is found beside Kol shrines
and in the courtyards of their houses. It should be watered daily [757]
and its leaves are said to have certain medicinal qualities, being
especially effective in fevers. Tulasi was once a woman who engaged [773]
in religious austerities for a long time and at last dared to ask to
become a wife of Vishnu. For this presumption Tulasi was cursed
by Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, and was turned into this plant. Vishnu
comforted her by promising to be near her in the form of a *salagrama* [778]
stone. So they are often associated in worship and even in Kol shrines
a *salagrama* stone is usually found close to the *tulasi* plant. The leaf [263]
is highly scented and a bit is often broken off by Kols and eaten with
their food. During the evening hours it is worshipped by having a [782]
small *dip* lighted before it.

Dead trees are generally feared as the death of a tree is most
certainly due to an evil spirit's influence and a *churel* often kills a tree [775]
to make a residence for herself.

MARRIAGE OF TREES. The Kols have a ceremony for the marriage 824
of trees. The mango tree is the one usually married and this should 796
be done at the time it first begins to bear fruit. Unless such a tree
has been married no adult should eat of the fruit, although a child
may do so. There are at least two methods of marrying trees, both
of which require the Brahmin priest. In the first instance a mango
tree should be married to a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*). This
tree may be near at hand, or even some distance from the mango tree.
The ceremony appears to consist in having a married couple wind a
cotton thread coloured with *haldi* seven times around the tree. They
should move about the tree in a clockwise direction and as they do
this the Brahmin recites sacred texts. First the mango tree is wound
then the tamarind; if they are close enough together the thread may
be stretched from one to the other. It is not unusual to find a mango
and a tamarind tree planted close by. Many of the features [574]
of the regular wedding are incorporated, and following the function
there is a feast.

In the second instance a small wooden peg, variously coloured,
takes the place of the tamarind tree. This may be made out of tama-

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539 773 753 Khermai, called Bhagavati, chose the power of smallpox. If any one fails to please her, she appears in that person in the form of smallpox. Or, if not that, some other in the family will be with the pox, euphemistically called *mata*, "mother". She was given the power to remain in full control of the person for two and a half days, and during that time the sick person should be worshipped, for that really means the worshipping of Bhagavati; so men must respect and honour her for her power. Further honour must be shown by the whole family in the avoidance of certain foods such as pulses and *ghi*. No frying pan should be used, and the inmates of the house should not wear leather shoes.

539 773 782 THE KOLS AND MAHADEO (SIVA). The Kols have several stories in which they speak of a character which they call Baiju or Baijnath. One example has already been given. From some stories it appears that he is the husband of Shivari. Kols say that Baiju, under the name of Baijnath, and the god Mahadeo must always be worshipped together, but Baijnath should be worshipped first.

One story relates that Baijnath excelled all others in his devotion to Bhagawan, and when the time was right, he asked Bhagawan for a boon. He asked that at the time of worship, water might first be poured over him and then over Mahadeo. This was granted, and he used to worship Mahadeo and beat him with a stick five times a day.

A longer form of this story from another section of Central India is as follows: In this account Baijnath is spoken of as a Rautiya Kol, a farmer who worked daily in his fields. He had this peculiar characteristic, however, which was that as he went by a certain temple, he used to enter in and beat Mahadeo with a stick five times a day. The reason for this strange behaviour was known only to Baijnath. Once it happened that he was so busy in the fields that he forgot to beat the god and when he was almost home from work he recalled his omission. At once he decided to return to the dwelling place of Mahadeo, but on the way he found that, for some strange reason, the river was in spate, and would be very dangerous to cross. He decided to wait a bit, but there was no improvement in the river. The sun was about to set, and the day would be gone, so he decided to jump into the river and swim through it. He did this very dangerous thing and going to the temple gave Mahadeo five blows with the stick. On his return he had to swim the river again. Now Mahadeo, who saw all this, was afraid, for he realized that Baijnath was a man of purpose and would not be turned aside by dangers, so he decided that he must do something to please Baijnath. With this in mind Mahadeo waited

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till Baijnath arrived the next day intent on beating him. Greeting him he said :- "Baijnath, I wish to give you a great boon. It is that people will worship you and pour water on you first and after that they will worship me. If they should fail to do this to you, they will have no fruit of their labours at all. So now that you have this *bardan* please give me release from this daily beating you are giving me." Hearing this, Baijnath was very happy and Mahadeo was beaten no more. So Kols always worship Baijnath first.[1]

539 773 782

How the Cat became a Household Pet. Once Mahadeo sent a cat to spy upon a certain home. He wanted to know whether there was a fire in there at that particular time. This cat had stayed with Mahadeo for a long time and, obeying his commands, she went to the house where she found the fire burning and milk nicely warmed beside it. There was also some freshly prepared butter on the floor. The cat tasted the butter and found it so delicious that she ate it all. Next she drank the milk, and feeling very comfortable, she curled up to sleep beside the cosy fire. She nevermore left the house, for she preferred it with its warmth, and butter and milk, to the treatment and food she had with Mahadeo. Since that time the cat has become a household animal, and it is a great sin to kill one, as it came directly from Mahadeo.

539 773 231 [673]

Why the Tiger fears the Red Dog. The wild dog, a red dog of India, (*Cyon dakhunensis*) is common in the wilder jungles of Central India. It is much feared by the animals of the forest, including the tiger, and tigers are sometimes killed by it. These dogs always hunt in packs containing often as many as thirty animals, and the pack does not give tongue, coming suddenly upon its prey.

539 773 825

The story goes that once Mahadeo quarrelled with Parvati his wife. He was so annoyed with her that he left home and went into voluntary exile in the forest. Parvati was sorry and wanted to get him back, but was too proud to humble herself before him. Finally she decided to frighten him and thus cause him to return. She was sure that if she could send a tiger after him to annoy him Mahadeo would surely fly to his home for safety. So she used her divine powers to make a tiger go to him, but in vain, for Mahadeo outwitted her, as

1 It is now established that Siva or Mahadeo worship is very ancient. Evidences of this are found in the Mohenjodaro civilization. A Census report notes that "Bhils, Savaias and the Korkus all trace their origin to Mahadeva, though it is possible that the tradition may be a latterly acquired Hindu Idea." (1931—I : 3 B. p. 63). Perhaps this story is a memory of a strife with groups who did trace their ancestry back to Mahadeo. The Kols frequently identify Baiju or Baijnath with the Bhils.

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PLATE XX.

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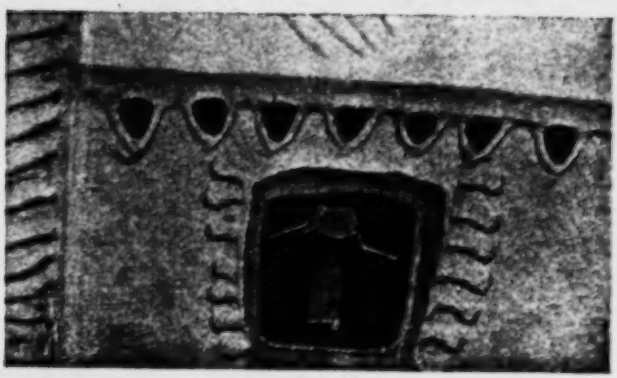

Leaf Cup set in decorated niche in outer Wall.

342
532

Peacock Design beside the Threshold of a Kol Dwelling.

[Facing p. 244]